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[For Three Bears' account of his attempt to elope with a Crow woman during his period of captivity in the Crow camp, and the aftermath, see Category 727, pp. 198-203.]

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

As the members of a gens were all considered as relatives, however remote, there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his gens. Originally this law was strictly enforced, but like many of the ancient customs it is no longer observed. Lately, within the last forty or fifty years, it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens, to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes often received outsiders, who were not related by blood to the gens; and such people or their descendants could marry within the gens. Ancestry became no longer necessary to membership.

As a rule, before a young man could marry, he was required to have made some successful expeditions to war against the enemy, thereby proving himself a brave man, and at the same time acquiring a number of horses and other property, which would enable him to buy the woman of his choice, and afterwards to support her.

Marriages usually took place at the instance of the parents, though often those of the young man were prompted by him. Sometimes the father of the girl, if he desired to have a particular man for a son-in-law, would propose to the father of the latter for the young man as a husband for his daughter.

The marriage in the old days was arranged after this wise: The chief of one of the bands may have a marriageable daughter, and he may know of a young man, the son of a chief of another band, who is a brave warrior, of good character, sober-minded, steadfast, and trustworthy, who he thinks will make a good husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law. After he has made up his mind about this, he is very likely to call in a few of his close relations, the principal men among them, and state to them his conclusions, so as to get their opinions about it. If nothing is said to change his mind, he sends to the father of the boy a mes-

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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to the young man's lodge, knows that a marriage is to take place; and the girl is watched by idle persons as she passes to and fro, so that the task is quite a trying one for people as shy and bashful as Indians are. When the time for the marriage has come,—in other words, when the girl's parents are ready,—the girl, her mother assisting her, packs the new lodge and her own things on the horses, and moves out into the middle of the circle—about which all the lodges of the tribe are arranged—and there the new lodge is unpacked and set up. In front of the lodge are tied, let us say, fifteen horses, the girl's dowry given by her father. Very likely, too, the father has sent over to the young man his own war clothing and arms, a lance, a fine shield, a bow and arrows in otter-skin case, his war bonnet, war shirt, and war leggings ornamented with scalps,—his complete equipment. This is set up on a tripod in front of the lodge. The gift of these things is an evidence of the great respect felt by the girl's father for his son-in-law. As soon as the young man has seen the preparations being made for setting up the girl's lodge in the centre of the circle, he sends over to his father-in-law's lodge just twice the number of horses that the girl brought with her,—in this supposed case, thirty.

As soon as this lodge is set up, and the girl's mother has taken her departure and gone back to her own lodge, the young man, who, until he saw these preparations, had no knowledge of when the marriage was to take place, leaves his father's lodge, and, going over to the newly erected one, enters and takes his place at the back of it. Probably during the day he will order his wife to take down the lodge, and either move away from the camp, or at least move into the circle of lodges; for he will not want to remain with his young wife in the most conspicuous place in the camp. Often, on the same day, he will send for six or eight of his friends, and, after feasting them, will announce his intention

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room. These are all his close relations, and he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

It is a common belief among some of those who have investigated the subject that the wife in Indian marriage was actually purchased, and became the absolute property of her husband. Though I have a great respect for some of the opinions which have been expressed on this subject, I am obliged to take an entirely different view of the matter. I have talked this subject over many times with young men and old men of a number of tribes, and I cannot learn from them, or in any other way, that in primitive times the woman was purchased from her father. The husband did not have property rights in his wife. She was not a chattel that he could trade away. He had all personal rights, could beat his wife, or, for cause, kill her, but he could not sell her to another man. 421 593

All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his potential wives. If he was not disposed to marry them, they could not be disposed of to any other man without his consent. 595 [582]

Not infrequently, a man having a marriageable daughter formally gave her to some young man who had proved himself brave in war, successful in taking horses, and, above all, of a generous disposition. This was most often done by men who had no sons to support them in their old age. 583 ●

It is said that in the old days, before they had horses, young men did not expect to marry until they had almost reached middle life, — from thirty-five to forty years of age. This statement is made by Wolf Calf, who is now very old, almost one hundred years, he believes, and can remember back nearly or quite to the time when the Blackfeet obtained their first horses. In those days, young women did not marry until they were grown up, while of late years fathers not infrequently sell their daughters as wives when they are only children. 582 178 [115] [584]

The first woman a man marries is called his sits-beside-him wife. She is invested with authority over all the other 595

8: Ewers · E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one. 584 582

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family. 848 583 584 585 431

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony. [583]

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt. 602 [606] [607]

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten 595 [182] [556]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The tendency for the head chieftaincy to run in families has been more marked among the Blood Indians. Since ante-1869 the tribal head chieftaincy has descended in the family of Seen-from-Afar and Red Crow to the present (1951) chief, Shot-on-Both-Sides. Weasel Tail claimed that Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood Indians in 1832, fathered another tribal head chief who bore the same name. It is certain that the head chief rose to office through distinction gained as a prominent band chief. The basic requirements of outstanding war record and generosity, therefore, were essential to his advancement.

Blackfoot recognition of social status upon the basis of horse ownership served indirectly to limit the power of both tribal and band chiefs in intertribal relations. Older chiefs, who had amassed considerable wealth, and who no longer went to war themselves, would lose more than they could gain through continued warfare. Often they looked with favor upon peace with some neighboring tribe. But their desires were thwarted by ambitious young men who could not be deterred from horse raids against the neighboring tribes in order to gain status for themselves. Father Point (in 1847) found Piegan young men willing to listen to his exhortations to cease stealing from neighboring tribes only if he "could immediately make 'Great Men' of them" (De Smet, 1905, vol. 3, p. 954).

MARRIAGE

The institution of marriage among the Blackfoot offered men of wealth opportunities for wide selection of women for wives, while the marital opportunities of the poor were restricted. A boy of a poor family, who was not very ambitious, had little chance of marriage except to a girl of his own social class. However, the father of a girl of rather loose morals, "who chased around with one fellow after another," might tell her, "You marry that poor fellow, and settle down." There were also orphan girls in camp, some of whom were flighty in their affections, available to marry poor boys. On the whole marriages tended to be contracted between persons of nearly equal status. A poor young man who had been successful in amassing a herd of 8 or 10 horses might be recognized as a young man with a future and might marry into a family of higher status. On the other hand, a wealthy man was besieged with offers of the daughters of ambitious parents of lower status.

Informants resented any implication of bride purchase in the Blackfoot marriage ceremony, insisting there was an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. This exchange of gifts has been mentioned in accounts of Blackfoot marriage by Bradley

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

583 585 431 585 431 231 (1923, pp. 272–273) and Grinnell (1892, pp. 211–216). The initial proposal could be made by parents of either the young man or woman. In either case it was a matter of pride for the family receiving the first gifts to return gifts of greater value than those received. Horses were virtually always among the valuable gifts exchanged. Bradley (1923, p. 272) wrote that "two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute the customary offering in cases of intended marriage." Green Grass Bull recalled one marriage in which the groom's folks received over 40 horses from the bride's relatives. Yet he said that he gave his wife's father only one horse when he married, although later, when he returned from horse raids, he presented horses to her father and her two brothers. Three Calf recalled a rare instance of a father's offer of his daughter to a young man in return for a certain horse that man owned which he coveted.[80]

POLYGAMY

162 595 595 556 In buffalo days the number of Blackfoot women far exceeded that of men due primarily to heavy male war losses. (See p. 212.) At the same time many hands were needed by successful hunters to prepare their robes and skins for the fur trade and to manage their households on the move and in camp. It was usual for wealthy men to have several wives. Men of the middle class, in many instances, were polygamous. Poor men generally were monogamous. There were notable exceptions to this rule. One Piegan was known to have possessed three wives and but one horse. He and his family had a very difficult time moving their few belongings. On the other hand, the wealthy Stingy had one wife. Many parents offered him their daughters, but he refused, saying that more than one wife meant trouble.

595 587 There seems to have been a common belief that the practice of the sororate reduced the possibilities of jealousy and friction in polygamous marriages. Double Victory Calf Robe, an aged Blood woman, told me she was a wife in a polygamous union. Her two older sisters were married to Iron Horn. One day her father told her, "My son-in-law is very good to us. You better marry him and be with your sisters." Her parents outfitted a horse and travois and she rode over to Iron Horn's lodge. He accepted her, and gave horses to her father. The exchange of gifts in this marriage of a third daughter to a son-

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[80] Early references to the exchange of gifts, primarily of horses, in the marriage ceremonies of other Plains and Plateau tribes appear in the literature. Lewis and Clark noted this procedure among the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 587). Say reported gift exchanges in the Kansas marriage ceremony in 1819 (James, 1823, vol. 1, pp. 123–124); and Maximilian found them customary among the Mandan in 1834 (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 278–280).

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[119] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[120] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[121] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

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[119] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[120] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[121] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

The leader divided the loot, irrespective of whether he obtained the horses or remained behind, provided, of course, that the party had not broken up. If a split occurred, every man retained what he had gotten and there were no recriminations. In the division of the spoils, the leader was guided by the relative age and status of the men and by their part in capturing the horses. It is not clear from the material how these considerations were weighted. In no case did the leader return empty-handed. Unlike the Comanche, the Blackfoot were not content with the prestige of leadership alone.[175]

The return of a successful war party was an impressive event and occasioned general rejoicing and feasting. The party stopped a few miles from the camp, painted their faces, put on their war clothing, and drove quietly to the top of a hill overlooking the camp. "There they would begin the war song, whip the horses to a mad run, and firing guns and driving before them animals they had taken, charge swiftly down the hill into the bottom."[176]

If there were only a few casualties, or if the casualties befell men of little importance or with few relatives, a victory dance would be held, at which there was much exchange of property. Young, unmarried men gave most of their captured horses to older relatives. Since one principle of the division of loot was age, distribution of even a few gifts soon exhausted the loot of the young men. Young men had to go to war from six to ten times before they could accumulate enough horses for an impressive bride price. In giving away their loot they were establishing a source of future credit and aid in joining societies or in raising a bride price. Married men retained more for themselves and went to war less frequently than the unmarried. Scalps given to relatives or friends were repaid by a gift of a buckskin suit or a horse. Modern informants emphasize the trade value of scalps.[177]

The classical view of nineteenth century Plains warfare is that it was in the nature of a sporting game for honor, prestige and scalps. If this were true at all, it was, for the Blackfoot, characteristic of the period before the introduction of the horse and gun, and loot in horses as the dominating motive. Coup was largely ruled out in the parties organized for raiding because of the necessity for stealth and the desire to avoid face to face encounters. While it is true that the capture of a picketed horse rated high as a war deed, it did not compare with the taking of a gun and was not a formal requirement for chieftainship. As a matter of fact, the seeking of coup was confined to defensive encounters where the possibility of loot was

[175] See E. Adamson Hoebel, "The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians," *Memoirs of the Amer. Anthro. Assoc.*, Number 54, 1940.

[176] Schultz, *My Life as an Indian*, p. 47.

[177] J. Richardson, Mss.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

In 1808, Henry wrote in his journal, "The women appear to be held in slavery and stand in awe of their husbands."[179] Their work, was indeed hard and long. They cooked the meals, treated the skins, sewed them into clothing and tipi coverings, raised and lowered these cumbersome shelters, and saw to the transportation of family goods on the march. "The young men," again comments Henry, "appear proud and haughty, and are particular to keep their garments and robes clean. The women are a filthy set."[180]

Yet even in this hunting and raiding society of the past, women enjoyed a comparatively strong position—and this despite their onerous duties, the payment of a bride price, the continual suspicion and accusation of adultery, the harsh punishment for a breach of fidelity.[181] For in those not too distant days, a woman could lead a war party; she could be designated a favorite; she could own property, receive and exercise medicine power, and give names. She was a necessary part of every ceremonial transfer; she was the custodian of the bundles that her husband bought. The public initiation of the Horn Society still dramatizes the man's dependence. It is the wife who receives the power from the seller. Her husband can only gain possession from her.

Above and beyond the pressure of the reserve, the Blood woman has maintained this early importance. Although differently expressed, she is today, as she was in the past, a valuable asset. Her tanning and bead-work make a great show on ceremonial occasions; she runs her husband's home and participates in his transactions; she keeps her earnings and has considerable say about his; she chooses her partner in the social dance; she is still a necessary adjunct to his ceremonial life. Undeterred by the threat of punishment, she accepts flirtatious advances and often initiates them. She is secure in her womanhood.

But like the man, it is the rich woman in particular, although sometimes the beautiful one, who is arrogantly sure of herself. A rich woman is spoiled and demanding. A beautiful one will not hestitate to take another woman's husband or flaunt her lover before her own when he cannot satisfy her with handsome clothes. Rich or poor, she may leave her husband at will; but the fathers of the poor are apt to urge their daughters to remain, while fathers of the rich have frequently been known to take them home "because their husbands didn't treat them right."[182]

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[179] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, p. 526.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 572. Cf. also Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253; Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 271; and Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 10 ff.

[182] *Ibid.* Wissler quotes a Piegan as saying, ". . .if a man who gives a few presents or pays nothing becomes exacting, the woman's relatives will remark that as he paid little or nothing he should desist; they may even take her away and find another husband for her."

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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584 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families
585 accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

584 Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the
602 extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the
584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission
[657] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable
[602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no
585 young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service
[431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab-
583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the
586 extreme is the following:

762 A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported
626 to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1] This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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When this pressure was unavailing, the two were shunned by all. After several months together, the two quarrelled among themselves over suspected unfaithfulness. They separated, and the man committed suicide after leaving behind notes addressed to his first wife. The woman later remarried, though to a man of lower status than herself, and by exemplary behavior and even some show of submissiveness has lived down much of the scandal.

Here all pressure failed to dissolve the match, even ostracism. When the microcosm itself collapsed, there were no other face-saving alternatives for the man than suicide, and suicide under any circumstances is very rare. Usually the agency policy is laissez-faire with respect to marital affairs, and the foregoing case shows that the maximum persuasion came from relatives and other Indians who "cut" them socially. The agency is more often invoked to untangle the conflicting claims on property between the offended and the offending parties after separation. Here the council of chiefs is particularly useful in advising the agent as to Blackfoot practice and sentiment.

Although we have no substantiating statistics, the frequency of separation seems higher today than in former times. There are few Blackfoot who have not separated and remarried at least once, more often four or five times. "Stealing" of wives or husbands, i.e., infidelity, is a frequent accusation, and the resultant jealousy becomes the cause for most separations. In the past a husband's suspicion of unfaithfulness led to brutal treatment of his wife, such as nose-cutting, society "rape" fests, or his sending her away. Of late such jealousy seems to have increased, particularly since women as well as men are today considered capable of jealousy. The offended spouse either departs or sends the offender away, if the latter has not already eloped. This probably means the termination of two marriages, that of the co-respondent and that of the unfaithful woman. As a result, conflicting claims for horses, wagons, and household furnishings between these parties arise, and settlement becomes a delicate problem for the agent and the council of chiefs.

The causes for the increased fragility of marriage bonds lie in the many social changes that have occurred since settling on the reserve. First, we note an increased proportion of males to females, after the cessation of wars. Seduction has long been considered an unofficial male *coup*, and as this feeling has not diminished, and people live in greater proximity, opportunities for illicit affairs are greater today. In the second place, the punishment meted out by the offended husband has decreased in severity in the light of white disapproval of mutilation.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reservé social structure. The points of stability

829 back up what you say with your initiations. The leaders of the tribe always went through most of the transfer and took care of the main bundles. I have the rights to a lot of things that I don't even speak up about, because I don't want to make things too complicated. But we have to stick by the wisdom of our ancestors, and not try to outsmart them in talking about the Creator, and all that is created.

584 I started to like Mokakin when I was at the boarding school —St. Paul's, here on the reserve. That's back in the days when we lived at the school practically all year. We grew up there, my sister and I. My father was planning to choose a husband for me when I came out of school. He wanted someone from a wealthy family, someone that would go through a lot of transfers and take good care of his family that way. I wanted to marry Mokakin, so one day he came for me on horseback. I ran away from the school and eloped with him. In those times fathers still chose husbands for their daughters.

[178] Today, the young people do not even ask their parents for advice about marriage. They just look for each other, even 834 while they are young, still. When we were young, we would always be kept just with other girls. Our mothers and aunts and relatives watched us very close. They didn't allow even one boy to hang around. We didn't know how it was to just be walking around outside by ourselves. A soon as it was dark we had to be inside the house. This was especially true at the Sun [178] Dance camps. Nowadays the kids just run wild there, day and [829] night. I tell you it was much better when life was strict.

Back at the school they talked about putting Mokakin in 583 jail for taking me away with him. He was older than I was. But I wasn't young anymore, either. I was already planning to leave school, and my father was already looking around for a son-in-law. But he didn't want Mokakin, so I just took off with him. After that he had to accept him, since I was his Minipoka, his special child.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

near them. If they did anything that might bring a bad name to the family they were punished quite severely—mostly by their own brothers.

Brothers and sisters were taught to respect each other from an early age. Girls were never allowed to dress improperly in front of their brothers. Some of these customs have gone on to the present time, I can tell you. I was the only girl in my family, and I had six brothers who watched over me. These customs sure caused me and some of my friends a lot of tears and heartaches—like when we had boy friends of whom our brothers didn't approve, or when we wanted to be in style and wear shorter skirts.

In the days when my grandmothers were little girls about the only toys they had were small replicas of the things their mothers worked with—small tipis and camping outfits, dolls and little cradleboards, and miniature tools for tanning and cooking food. They were told about the holy women who put up Sun Dances, with the hopes that they would learn to be honest, kind, and virtuous.

I have often heard that the old Indians sold their daughters. There is some truth to this, but mostly it is a misunderstanding of our customs. When a worthy young man married a respectable girl, both families exchanged presents. However, to win the approval of her parents, the young man first had to show her parents how generous he could be by sending them several fine horses and other property. Since the parents were losing a good household worker in the transaction, these valuables could be looked upon as a return on their investment of having raised the daughter to her prime. I imagine some parents thought of the matter in these terms—especially fathers who had a number of sons. Keep in mind that the daughter's marriage meant she would then be obligated to her husband and his family. Often her parents hardly saw her anymore after the marriage.

The way that a young man first gave notice of his desire for

778
793
575
237

Stephen Fox in his old age. He is praying and calling out four coups for the leader of the Horns Society, during our Sun Dance Encampment a few years ago. He holds the leader's swan-skin-wrapped staff. Stephen Fox lived to be almost a hundred, and remained very active until his death, at which time he was survived by many children—some of them older men and some still quite small. [555] [165]

In later years, the Pipe was owned in succession by Owns No Fancy Horses, Eagle Head, Heavy Shield, Old Man, Sleeps on Top, who was Stephen Fox's father, and Crop-Eared Wolf, our head chief after Red Crow's death. Crop-Eared Wolf gave one hundred horses as a sacrifice for the Pipe. This was back in the days when he was known by the name Many Horses. The Buffalo Days were ended by that time. 778 793 [435]

Crop-Eared Wolf had the Pipe for a number of years. He gave it to Wolf Chief, also known as Big Wolf. Big Wolf had a fifteen-year-old daughter named Ambush Woman, who was his minipoka. She married a young man by the name of Parted Hair and her father gave his new son-in- [425] [583]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]
[P. 147-B]

law the Long-Time Pipe. In addition, he gave thirty horses to the groom's parents. They, in turn, are said to have sent fifty horses and their own Medicine Pipe to Big Wolf in honor of the marriage. 778 793 [425] [583]

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Shot-on-Both-Sides, who was our head chief for almost fifty years. His wife became known as Long-Time-Pipe-Woman. He kept the Pipe for thirty-four years before he transferred it to Big Sorrel Horse. [622]

Big Sorrel Horse transferred the Pipe to old Weaselhead, also known as Chief-in-Timber, who was Mokakin's stepfather. When he transferred the Pipe to old Bobtail Chief, also called Lone Medicine Pipe Owner, old Weaselhead kept the [432] [301]

[p.148-B]

She speaks of her early marriage: 584

Yes, I was still running amongst the girls. I was still small and naughty. My father told me one day, "You will get married. There is a boy that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy, so he will be kind to you." [156] [581]

I was very proud that I was getting married. I should have been educated first, but I obeyed my father to get married so that someone would look after me. He was getting ill then.

My mother sewed moccasins for me to get married in. When winter came, it was on Christmas, they got me my horse and they tied a travois to him. I had my bedding and I had two parfleches; one was full of moccasins and one was full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows [backrests] were loaded, too, and some blankets were put on top. I rode on one horse and there were two more horses with many blankets tied on them; they were all presents from my folks. I don't remember everything about it, because I was small. I don't know how many more horses were sent later; my husband traded off some of them for cows. 584 583 [425] [231]

I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen blanket. We arrived at the old place where we used to get our rations. An interpreter lived there. His name is Young Scabby Bull, a black white-man [the Negro, Dave Mills]. My mother told me to stay in there for a while so that she could go and get rations. This was ration day. 584 [292] [657]

So I sat there. Then a woman came in and kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping to see my mother, but I never saw her again that day. She took me out and put me on the horse with the travois. So we started off again. The woman led the two other horses. She was on horseback, too.

We came to a house. It was the house of my deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there 584 574

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 "I did not tell him that. You know, daughter, that he is my more-than-friend, my more-than-brother; that in our fight with the Assiniboines, in the Bear Paw Mountains, he saved me from them though himself badly wounded."

"What? You told him then, that man of many wives, and old, of heart so cold that he never laughs, that he could have me?"

"No, daughter, I did not give you to him; I said that I would ask you to become his woman."

"Knowing well that I will not do it. Surely you were not afraid to tell your more-than-friend that I am not for him?"

581 584 "Daughter, it is that every woman of our tribe should marry, have children. All too few are our men. They fall in battle with our many enemies; they are continually being crippled, killed in the chase. Now you, desiring revenge upon the Crows, you can do far more by raising children, brave, strong youths to fight them, than you can by going yourself against them. Daughter, as you love me, as you love your mother, I call upon you to marry Talks-with-the-Buffalo, saver of my life. It is your plain duty to have children by him, brave sons to grow up and fight our many enemies."

The girl made no reply to that. She went out and across the camp to the lodge of her dead sweetheart's mother, Mink Woman, and remained with her a long time. Bear Head and I were sitting with Eagle Plume, smoking with him, when she came home; he had been telling us of Talks-with-the-Buffalo's sudden request for her, his hope that she would go to him. Very solemn, downcast, she was as she sat down beside her mother, leaned against her and said: "Father, I have been with Mink Woman; she thinks, as you do, I should marry, have sons to grow up and avenge the death of him we loved. So is it that I will marry your more-than-friend." And with that she began to cry. Bear Head and I got up and quietly left the lodge.

595 [583] With her various belongings, the girl moved into her new home that evening, and presently we learned that she was not happy there; *Otahki*, the younger of the two sisters Talks-with-the-Buffalo had married, was very jealous of the new wife and was slyly doing all that she could to make trouble for her in her new life. Even, at times, she boldly lied about her, told their man that, when the two went

way, on and on, anywhere to be safe, I thought. He waited until the enemy leaders had come so near that we could almost see their eyes; and when he gave the shrill cry and his hundreds of warriors yelled it and charged out from the grove, I was somehow crazily with them and yelling, too. 726

Ha! At sight of us, what did those Entrails and Crow warriors do? Did they raise their guns and come hurrying to meet us? No! At once they turned and fled, they and then their families, and we after them, in among them, shooting, shooting, shooting them down. There was so much to see at once: enemies falling, our warriors strewing the ground with them; women and children squalling, riding back as fast as they could go; pack horses and travois horses running in all directions and spilling their loads. I drew an arrow from my case, fitted it to my bow, began overtaking an enemy with intent to kill him; but when, with good aim, I drew back the bowstring with all my strength, it broke apart and I all but fell from my horse. He was an old, gray-haired one, that enemy, and he carried a gun, a short-barreled flintlock gun as I could plainly see.

The bravest thing that a warrior can do is to seize an enemy's gun, or bow, strike him with it, then kill him. I rode up close beside this old man, snatched his gun from him, and then he looked at me so pitifully, saying, in my own language, "Oh, pity me. Do not kill me," that I only tapped his shoulder with the gun and let him go. For that, afterward, I got great praise and great scolding from my father. "You were very brave to seize the enemy's gun, you so young, but you should then have killed him," he said. "If you continue pitying your enemies, you can never, never become a real warrior." [555] [703]

As I said, the Entrails People and the Crows were riding back as fast as they could go, our warriors overtaking and killing them. We could have killed them all but for the eagerness of our warriors to scalp and to take the weapons of their kills, so to prove their bravery. And, too, they were, many of them, horse hungry, especially our poor ones, so, instead of keeping on and making their kills, they would turn off and round up bands of the enemy horses and claim them as their own. As at last our pursuit and killing of the enemy was ending, I came upon my father's close friend *Ikinaiyi* ("Top 726 727 [583] [201]

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

726 Knot") chasing a woman. He overtook her, pulled her from her
727 horse, got down off his horse, and signed to her: "You are now my
[583] woman. Do not ever try to leave me. If you do I will kill you." Oh,
[201] but she was beautiful, that woman, of perhaps thirty winters. Surprisingly, she signed to *Ikinaiyi:* "I hated my Crow man. He stole me from my people. Do not worry. I will never try to leave you.' "

000 "*Apikuni,* friend," continued Big Brave, "you well knew her, she whom we named Crow Woman."

"Yes, well I knew her. She and her close friend, Earth Woman, were my almost-mothers," I sadly answered.

Then he went on:

727 Well, our chase and killing of the enemy ended, and the valley
[805] was strewn with their belongings; lodges and lodgepoles, lodge fur-
[211] nishings, buffalo robes and furs, clothing, parfleches of food. Came from our camp the women to gather up all these valuable things, and how they did sing and chatter and quarrel as they were doing it. Came, too, our old men, and several of them cut a large number of short willow sticks and began counting the enemy dead. They painted red the end of a stick for every body that they came to, and when they had finished, counted the sticks.

"*Ha!* My brave children, in all you have killed 363 of the enemy," one of them shouted to us and began singing, and we all sang with him. Oh, what a happy, happy day that was for us all.

000 My old friend ended his tale and signed to me to fill a pipe.

And now about Crow Woman, as the Pikunis named her. After Kipp's Mandan mother, Earth Woman, secured her release from her captor,[5] she was a member of the Kipp family until she died in 1906.

113 [5] For the full story of Crow Woman, see Chapter 2 of this volume. In this earlier
551 chapter, Crow Woman was captured by Spotted Elk; here, he is Top Knot; in Schultz's *My Life As an Indian,* p. 77, the Blood who captured and married her is named Deaf Man; but in his *Bird Woman* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), p. 4, the captor is called Lone Otter. The discrepancies are more apparent than real, owing to the different names held by one and the same Indian at different times in his career.

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

836 But while the faithless wife was thus exposed to punish-
589 ment and obloquy, it was different with the unmarried woman. She was regarded as mistress of her own actions and no shame attached to her for unchastity. Many young women in every village carried on a business of common prostitutes without suffering any loss of standing. On the contrary, they were received everywhere on terms of social equality, and often subsequently became faithful wives.
837 A similar immunity from punishment or popular censure was enjoyed by the wife whose lewdness was with the consent of or by the direction of her husband. Such cases were not infrequent, sometimes from a desire for gain, again as a point of hospitality to a favored guest, particularly when the host, as was very common with the Blackfeet, enjoyed a plurality of wives.

INTRODUCTION OF THE YOUNG MAN AS A WARRIOR

701 Usually about the age of sixteen the young man is re-
702 garded as a warrior. He reaches this dignity by no ceremony, but it is tacitly admitted by virute of his strength, hardihood and ability and readiness to meet the foe in
[756] combat. When he first determines to seek the war path, his father usually procures the services of a medicine man, who paints him with mystic devices and mutters over him an invocation for courage, success in war, and a safe return, after which his father presents him with weapons
[729] and if able, a horse, and he is ready for the field. As a
[555] rule, the young men are very ambitious to distinguish themselves in war and seek every opportunity to win the
[883] honor that war-like deeds can alone secure. Not infrequently, however, they are great drones, lounging in the village, participating neither in the war nor the chase until they take wives, when perforce they must exert themselves to live.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

584 About the age of twenty-five the young warrior begins to
[582] think of having a wife. Having selected the woman he would thus honor, he loses no time in employing the
[583] civilized device of a tedious and uncertain courtship, but

584 secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of
583 his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to
585 be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute
[562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she
607 is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be
[562] remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

POLYGAMY

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

FATHERS-IN-LAW AND MOTHERS-IN-LAW

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the

auaists, omá níuau ki manikâ'piks áistunnoyii mánistsistomaiks. Apatóχtæk áuaniu, iχ'tsáuæskunatapsinu manikâ'piks, istotaitsípisau mánistaistomaiks.

for them [near their fathers' lodges]. When they had given birth to a child, they were safe after nine days. The reason why the women did not give birth to a child in their [own] lodges, [was that] the man and the young men were afraid of those that had just given birth to a child. The ancient people used to say, [that] the young men were not strong [would have no endurance], if they entered in a place [where there were] women that had just given birth to a child.

[Cf. Wissler slbi 28.]

Marriage.

A'kai-Pekàniua matsoápanikâpiks, ákoχkèmisau, mátauaitakìuaiks. Omí níuai, otâiakûsimmòki, otánnyai ákàksinaiin. A'moia matsoápii otsináni ákoχkænoχkotsìu otánni. Ponokâ'mitaiks áχsiks ákoχpoχkanauaχkiskuyiuaie. Kanáitapiua ákstæmksinìm, áiaua áχkiskumoau. Ki ákskinoau, otsitsoápsi. Ki omí maáχsi ákatsksinoàin, otsínaiis. Ki omá manikâ'piu otákoχkspummok únni. Nitúyi ákanistaχsii ponokâ'mitaiks ki ámoia píapì otákomatskaχtaksists. Nitúyi kanáitapiua ákanistsinoyìu, omí manikâ'pi otomátskaχtaksists. Omá saχkínau omí otoχkéman uyínnaiks nitúyi ákatauistoχkotsiu. I'soχtsik omí otoχkéman mútsàipsis, mátakstuyi-

The fine young men of the ancient Peigans, when they were to marry, never asked for a wife. The daughter of the chief, that had to have him for son-in-law, would be dressed up. He would give all the finery, that belonged to him, to his daughter. He would send all good horses with her. Everybody would know, [that] a certain person had a wife sent to him. And he would be known, that he was a fine man. And his father-in-law would also be known, that he was a chief. And the young man would be helped by his father [to give presents to the chief who was to be his father-in-law]. The horses and the other things, that he [the future

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 583 sìuats, ákstæminitsìuaie. Saiínitæsàie, amánnìsi, omí otoχkéman kámosin manikâ´pi, uyínnaiks otáksinìkinai. Saiínitæsàuaie, oχksisísai áksistsinimiàu. Stsíkiks oχtókists áiistsìnimiau. Stsíkiksi nínaiks áiokskæmi ki áisoyimi 539 684 otoχkémauaiks. Makúpsisi túkskæm ki tsáχtau nátokæmi otoχkémaiks, áksatapiksistsìuaiks. Mátakatskòaiks. Imaksínaipokàiisaiks, mátàkstuyisìuats, otáiàkanistsiχ´p, ákstæmanistsiu. Iχ´takáumatskaχtakiu omí otoχkéman.

son-in-law] would give, were just as good [as the presents he received]. All the people would see just the same, what that young man had given. Just the same that young-married man would also give [presents] to his wife's male relatives. If, in the future, his wife was foolish [did something wrong], he would not be ashamed, he would kill her [that means: shame would not prevent him to kill her]. If he did not kill her, [and] if he was right [in saying], [that] his wife was stealing a young man [that means: that his wife secretly had a lover], she would be killed by her male relatives. If they did not kill her, they would cut off her nose. Of others they cut off their ears. Other men had three or four wives. If one or may-be two of his wives were bad, he would throw them out-of-doors. They would not come back. Even if they were chief's daughters, he would not be ashamed; he would do, what he wanted to do. He gave plenty for his wife [that means: he paid richly for her, and therefore he was entitled to do with her just what he wanted].

539 583 Okyâpitapìks ákstàmaitakiau. A´χsimotsìniki, omí nínai otâkûsimmokaie. A´komatskaχtakìu. Ikámstsimimotsìniki omí akékoan otoχkéman, nitúyi ákatanìtsatapiksistsiuaie. Otomátskaχtaksiks 539 586 ákatskotoyiu. Matápiua atotámskotoàs, otomátskaχtaksiks, ki

Ordinary people would ask for a wife. If he [the wooer] was liked, he would be taken for son-in-law by that man [the girl's father]. He [the wooer] would give presents. If he was disliked by that girl, his wife, the same way he would throw

ánniaie áipotoyiu otoχkéman. Itstsíi apatóχtsik áuaχsoàiks, ánnyaie noχkanístâχkâχkèmiau. A´nnikskaie, nitáuaniχ´pinan, makápitapi.

her out of doors. He would take back what he had given for presents. When people took back what they had given for presents, that meant, [that] one was giving up his wife. There were in the olden times people who took their wives by force, that was the way, they got a wife. Such ones, we said, were bad people. 539 586 539 583

[Cf. Grinnell blt 211 sqq., Mc Clintock ont 184 sqq., Wissler slbi 9 sqq.]

Death and hereafter.

Omík apatóχts áioχtoχkoχsiks nápiiks ki ómaχkàkèks áisokìnakìi. Stsíkiks istókimatsists iχ´táisokìnakìi. A´iniχ´koχtoχsiau, ki áistokimaiau. Ki stsíkiks áisimistsii. Istsínis omá áioχtoχkoχsiua, imoiániks ki makokists itáumopistau. Mistákskuists itáikitsiχ´tsau. Saiístakskus, ataχsiksímiks itâ´χkitsisksipistàu. A´nnye nitáiìkiχ´tsaii saipáiitapiks. A´uke nínaiks ki nínaipokàiks óχtoχkoχsisàu, áukisokìnaiau. Iuísau, itáiìksinaiàu nínaiks. Auápâχsoiotokâ´nisokàsimiau. Matsóaiks nitûiannistàpsi. Stsíkiks amáuχkèsani iχ´táuχpuskiuàii. Stsíkiks otaχkúyi iχ´táuχpuskinàii. Manikâ´piis, omá iniua nitúyi nitáinau. Akékoanàsis, áuakàsiua osókàsimi. E´nnokâχpekinasiuaie. Omím otsítsiniχ´pinu, okóauai itáiakokeuntoχp, áipstsokapistu-

Long ago old men and old women doctored the sick persons [even nowadays such doctoring is practiced]. Some of them doctored with drums. They sang to themselves, and beat the drum. And some doctored by giving something to drink. If the sick person died, he was wrapped into buffalo-robes and cow-skins. He was put up aloft [on top of] the mountains. When there were no mountains, he was tied to bent trees. That was the way, [that] common people were buried. And when the chiefs and the chiefs' children got sick, they were doctored by everybody. When they died, the chiefs were dressed up [in their finest clothes]. They wore shirts of weasel-tails and human hair. Their leggings were just the same [weasel-tails and 539 755 539 764

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian, on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot marriages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new